

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4866

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2588

EXDIS

GENEVA FOR BUFFUM

DEPT. PASS SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UN CY

SUBJ: DETAILS OF SYG'S MEETING ON CYPRUS WITH US, UK
AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS

REF: USUN 2579

1. FOLLOWING ARE DETAILS OF MEETING AT NOON, JULY 26, BETWEEN
SYG AND US, UK AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS, WHICH WAS SUMMARIZED REFTEL.

2. WALDHEIM SAID HE HAD CALLED IN THREE AMBASSADORS, AND WAS
LATER MEETING WITH OTHER SC DELEGATIONS, BECAUSE SITUATION IN
CYPRUS WAS "EXTREMELY SERIOUS". HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A TELEPHONE
CALL FROM USYG GUYER, SAYING MORNING MEETING IN GENEVA HAD GONE
VERY BADLY. (AFTERNOON MEETING HAD NOT YET BEGUN AS OF 11:30 AM
NEW YORK TIME.) GREEK FONMIN CHARACTERIZED FIRST MEETING TO
GUYER AS "A COMEDY," AND SAID HE SAW NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO TAKE
CRISIS TO SECURITY COUNCIL. GUYER TOLD HIM THAT WOULD SOLVE

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NOTHING: WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS TO MAKE GENEVA CONFERENCE A SUCCESS.

3. USYG URQUHART NEXT DESCRIBED CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND. HE SAID TURKS WERE CONTINUING TO WIDEN THEIR BRIDGEHEAD, AND NATIONAL GUARD WAS TOTALLY INCAPABLE OF STOPPING TURKISH ADVANCE. AS OF THIS MORNING TURKISH FORCES HAD CUT ALMOST ALL ROADS LEADING TO NICOSIA. YESTERDAY TURKS HAD ADVANCED TO KARAVAS AND HAD TAKEN YEROLAKOS, MIA MILIA AND KHIKOMO. BEGIN BRACKETS AT THIS POINT URQUHART SAID LATEST DEVELOPMENT WAS TURKISH CAPTURE OF KYTHREA: HOWEVER, WHEN SUBSEQUENTLY PRESSED BY US ON THIS POINT, HE SAID LATER INFO SHOWED THIS TO BE INCORRECT. END BRACKETS URGUHART CONTINUED THAT TURKS HAD SOME THIRTY TANKS AND TWENTY APC'S EAST OF NICOSIA AND ABOUT FORTY HELICOPTERS WEST OF CAPITAL.

4. WALDHEIM SAID GREEK CHARGE HAD ASKED HIM YESTERDAY TO CONVENE COUNCIL. HE HAD REFUSED, SAYING THAT AT PRESENT GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE WAS ONLY FORUM WHICH COULD TAKE MEANINGFUL ACTION. THIS MORNING CYPRUS PERMREP ROSSIDES HAD ASKED SC PRESIDENT FOR MEETING AT 3PM TODAY. (BENNETT ASKED IF ROSSIDES WAS REPRESENTING CLERIDES' GOVT OR MAKARIOS. SYG SAID HE DID NOT KNOW, BUT EARLIER SAMPSON REGIME DISMISSAL OF ROSSIDES HAD NOT BEEN WITHDRAWN. LATER ROSSIDES TOLD BENNETT HE HAD ACTED UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM MAKARIOS AND SAID HUFFILY THAT HE "DID NOT TAKE INSTRUCTIONS FROM CLERIDES.")

5. WALDHIEM WENT ON TO DESCRIBE GENERAL PREM CHAND'S REQUEST TO INTERPOSE UNFICYP FORCE BETWEEN TURKISH FORCE AND NATIONAL GUARD (USUN 2574). WALDHEIM SAID HE HAD CONCLUDED THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD BE OUTSIDE UNFICYP'S MANDATE, AND THAT MANDATE INDEED NO LONGER COVERED PRESENT SITUATION. AT THIS POINT, URQUHART INTERVENED TO SAY THAT PREM'S SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATION WAS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF UN POST AT KARAVAS, YEROLAKOS, TRAKHONAS, AYIOS EPICTETUS AND AIRPORT.

6. WALDHEIM SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTED GUYER TO RAISE PREM'S PROPOSAL AT GENEVA MEETING, BUT TO EMPHASIZE THAT IT COULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE UNLESS ALL PARTIES AGREED. HOWEVER, MORNING MEETING HAD GONE SO BADLY THAT, SO FAR AS HE WAS AWARE, GUYER HAD NOT BROACHED PROPOSAL. WALDHEIM EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT HE COULD NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTERPOSING UN FORCES UNDER

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PRESENT MANDATE; IF SC WISHED HIM TO TAKE SUCH ACTION, IT WOULD HAVE TO ORDER HIM EXPRESSLY TO DO SO. HE NOTED THAT GREEKS, AS WEAKER SIDE, WERE DEMANDING THAT: A) UNFICYP INTERPOSE ITSELF BETWEEN OPPOSING FORCES AND B) THAT UN FORCE BE SUBSTANTIALLY AUGMENTED SO THAT IT COULD CARRY OUT THIS TASK. AT THIS POINT, WALDHEIM REMARKED THAT TURKS AHD EARLIER IN DAY INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO SEE UNFICYP EXPANDED -- SO LONG AS NEW CONTINGENT CAME FROM MOSLEM COUNTRY (PRESUMABLY INDIA OR PAKISTAN).

7. FRENCH AMBASSADOR DE GUIRINGAUD ARGUED STRONGLY THAT PRESENT MANDATE WOULD ALLOW INTERPOSITION, BUT SAID MAIN PROBLEM WAS POLITICAL RATHER THAN JURIDICAL. HE WARNED AGAINST TRYING TO CHANGE MANDATE IN SC. HE NOTED THAT HE HAD JUST RECOMMENDED THAT EC-9 ISSUE FIRMEST APPEAL TO TURKEY TO CEASE ITS MILITARY OPERATIONS. HE DOUBTED, HOWEVER, THAT ANYTHING COULD BE DONE SINCE TURKS WERE NOW CLEARLY DETERMINED TO VIOLATE THE CEASEFIRE. SYG INTERJECTED THAT CANADIANS HAD BEEN "MOST DESTURBED" AT IDEA OF THEIR FORCES FIGHTING WITH TURKS, AND THEIR DEFENSE MINISTER HAD MADE "ASTONISHING" STATEMENT CRITICIZING UN DECISION TO DEFEND AIRPORT.

8. UK PERM REP RICHARD SAID MAIN QUESTION SEEMED TO HIM TO BE WHETHER UNFICYP HAD GOT ENOUGH MEN TO STOP THE TURKS. CLEARLY, ANSWER WAS NO. IT WAS NOT WITHIN UNFICYP'S SCOPE TO STOP TURKS OR MAKE THEM WITHDRAW. ONLY A COMBINATION OF DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS AND DETERRENCE COULD EFFECT THESE OBJECTIVES. TO BE FRANK, RICHARD SAID, WHAT SITUATION NEEDED WAS MUCH GREATER US PRESSURE ON TURKEY. KEY WAS "LOTS OF HEAVY BILATERAL DIPLOMACY BY US" AND IN FACT FORCE IF NECESSARY: ALL THAT SECURITY COUNCIL COULD DO WAS ADOPT STRONG RESOLUTION CALLING SPECIFICALLY ON TURKS TO WITHDRAW AND HAVE MEMBERS MAKE STATEMENTS CONDEMNING TURKISH ACTIONS AS ILLEGAL.

9. BENNETT SAID THAT "HEAVY BILATERAL DIPLOMACY" BY US WAS ALREADY BEING APPLIED. IT MIGHT BE TRUE THAT TURKS HAD NOT STOPPED ADVANCING, BUT AT SAME TIME SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING WAS CERTAINLY NOT LIKELY TO HAVE ANY PRACTICAL EFFECT AND MIGHT EASILY FORTIFY TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE. HE SAID US WILL TRY MANY AVENUES SHORT OF FIGHTING TURKS, BUT IT WILL NOT DO THAT. HE STRONGLY AGREED WITH DE GUIRINGAUD THAT SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD NOT GET INTO MANDATE QUESTION. USSR SEEMED TO BE PLAYING DOUBLE GAME,

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ENCOURAGING TURKS WHILE COMMISERATING WITH CYPRIOTS. BENNETT CONCLUDED THAT ONLY MEANINGFUL ACTION WAS CONTINUATION OF EFFORTS BEHIND THE SCENES. OPEN DISPUTE IN SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD ONLY AGGRAVATE SITUATION.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2588

EXDIS

SUBJ: DETAILS OF SYG'S MEETING ON CYPRUS WITH US, UK
AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS

10. SYG REMARKED WITH CONSIDERABLE AGITATION THAT TURKS WERE GOING AHEAD "BECAUSE THEY KNOW NO ONE WILL LIFT A FINGER" (HE MADE CLEAR HE WAS REFERRING TO US). HE EXPATIALIZED AT SOME LENGTH ON PARALLEL OF GREAT POWERS IGNORING AUSTRIA AT HER MOMENT OF CRISIS IN 1938. HE SAID THAT SO LONG AS GREAT POWERS (AGAIN IMPLING US PRINCIPALLY) MAKE CLEAR THEY WON'T ACT, TURKS WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THEIR OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN ATTAINED. WALDHEIM CONCLUDED EMOTIONALLY THAT GREAT POWERS AND SECURITY COUNCIL MUST ACCEPT THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES; HE FOR ONE WAS NOT READY TO TAKE ON WHOLE RESPONSIBILITY, AS HAMMARSKJOLD HAD, WITH AN INADEQUATE MANDATE.

11. RICHARD, SUPPORTED BY BENNETT, SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO CHANGE OF MANDATE WITH CONCOMITANT SUBSTANTIAL ENLARGEMENT OF UNFICYP. IF THAT WERE TO OCCUR, THERE WOULD BE NO WAY OF PREVENTING RUSSIANS OR OTHER SATELLITES FROM GETTING ONTO ISLAND. ON SYG'S MAIN POINT REGARDING POSSIBILITY OF INTERPOSITION, RICHARD SAID PROBLEM SEEMED FAIRLY
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SIMPLE. IF BOTH SIDES AGREED (WHICH THEY WOULDN'T), THEN THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM. IF TURKS DID NOT AGREE, THEN UN COULD NOT INTERPOSE EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT A MANDATE CHANGE.

12. MEETING CLOSED WITH DISCUSSION OF KIND OF RESOLUTION THAT

MIGHT BE PUT FORWARD AT THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING. (BENNETT'S
SUGGESTIONS THAT SECURITY COUNCIL NEED TAKE NO ACTION
FELL ON DEAF EARS.) WALDHEIM SUGGESTED BEST THAT COULD BE DONE
WAS TO REAFFIRM RESOLUTIONS 353 AND 354, CALLING SPECIFICALLY
ON TURKS TO RESPECT CEASEFIRE AND NOT FURTHER AGGRAVATE SITUATION.
SYG ALSO HOPED SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT REAFFIRM PRESENT UNFICYP
MANDATE. IT WAS LEFT THAT UK WOULD PREPARE INITIAL DRAFT FOR
SC CONSIDERATION.
BENNETT

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